

Message Text

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E.O 11652: N/A

TAGS: PGOV PINT, UY

SUBJ: PRESIDENT DESCRIBES PLANS FOR POLITICAL
RESTORATION AND RESTRUCTURES EXECUTIVE BRANCH

1. SUMMARY: PRESIDENT BORDABERRY COMMEMORATED THE
FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE CLOSING OF THE CONGRESS IN
A NATIONWIDE ADDRESS ON JUNE 27. HE ACKNOWLEDGED
PUBLICLY FOR THE FIRST TIME THAT THE ADMINISTRATION'S
PRINCIPAL PROP IN ITS STRUGGLE TOWARDS "POLITICAL
RESTORATION" IS THE ARMED FORCES. AS PART OF THE MOVE
TOWARDS INSTITUTIONAL REGENERATION WHICH IS TO LEAD
TO CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM AND PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY,
THE PRESIDENT ANNOUNCED THE CREATION OF A NEW ECONOMIC
AND SOCIAL COUNCIL AND RESTRUCTURED HIS ADMINISTRATION,
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CHANGING, ELIMINATING AND CREATING MINISTRIES. THE

CHANGES FURTHER INSTITUTIONALIZE THE MILITARY ROLE IN
POLICY MAKING, CENTRALIZE THE GOU'S ECONOMIC OPERATIONS
AND STREAMLINE MINISTRIES. UNFORTUNATELY THE KEY
ELEMENT IN MAKING THIS GOVERNMENT MOVE AHEAD--NEW
AND CAPABLE CABINET LEVEL LEADERSHIP--IS STILL LACKING.
END SUMMARY

2. ON THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE CLOSING OF THE
CONGRESS PRESIDENT BORDABERRY ADDRESSED THENATIONON
RADIO AND TV. THE PRESIDENT REITERATED HIS CONVICTION
THAT THE DISSOLUTION OF THE CONGRESS HAD HAD THE SUPPORT
OF THE PEOPLE OF URUGUAY AND ITS ARMED FORCES. HE SAID
THAT HE COULD HAVE ADJUSTED TO THE ANARCHY HE FOUND
AND LET OTHERS DEAL WITH IT LATER BUT THAT HE CHOSE
THE MORE DIFFICULT ROAD, DECIDING TO CONFRONT THE
SITUATION OUT OF A SENSE OF SERVICE.

3. CRISIS OF AUTHORITY: BORDABERRY SAID THE NATION
HAD ARRIVED, IN 1973, AT THE "NEAREST POINT TO SOCIAL
DISSOLUTION". THERE WAS A "CRISIS OF AUTHORITY IN
EDUCATION, IN LABOR, IN ECONOMIC AFFAIRS, AND ALL GROWING
OUT OF A CRISIS OF AUTHORITY IN POLITICS, SOMETHING
EVEN MORE SERIOUS." STATING THAT NO SOCIETY COULD LIVE
WITHOUT AUTHORITY, HE SAID SEVERAL GENERATIONS HAD
FORMED THE FALSE CONCEPT THAT AUTHORITY IS OPPOSED TO
LIBERTY WITHOUT REALIZING THAT IT IS ALSO OPPOSED TO
ANARCHY, STATING THAT DESPOTISM WAS NOT HIS GOAL, THE
PRESIDENT RESTATED AN OLD QUOTATION, "JUSTICE WITHOUT
FORCE IS IMPOTENT; FORCE WITHOUT JUSTICE IS TYRANNICAL.
JUSTICE AND FORCE HAVE TO BE MELDED TOGETHER SO JUSTICE
WILL BE STRONG AND FORCE JUST."

4. ROLE OF THE ARMED FORCES: LIKENING THE POSITION OF
THE ARMED FORCES TO THE ROCKS WHICH APPEAR AT LOW TIDE
"NOT BECAUSE THE ROCKS RISE UP BUT BECAUSE THE SEA
DROPS," BORDABERRY SAID THAT THE ARMED FORCES HAD TO
MOVE AHEAD TO GRAB NEW FUNCTIONS BUT RATHER HAD TO CARRY
ON FUNCTIONS LEFT BY OTHERS WHO LEFT THEIR PLACES. THE
CHIEF EXECUTIVE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT SOME PORTRAY HIM AS
A HELPLESS PRISONER OF STRONG AND AMBITIOUS ARMED
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FORCES. HE SAID THAT IF THE FIRST WERE TRUE HE WOULD
HAVE RESIGNED AND IF THE LATTER WERE TRUE THE MILITARY
WOULD HAVE THROWN HIM OUT. THE TRUTH IS THAT BOTH ARE
CARRYING OUT THEIR DUTIES.

5. POLITICAL RESTORATION: THE PRESIDENT WENT ON TO
SAY THAT THE DEFECTION OF THE POLITICAL BASE OF CIVIL
POWER HAD FORCED RELIANCE ON THE ARMED FORCES TO SUSTAIN

IT. HOWEVER, THIS IS A TEMPORARY SITUATION. ALL EFFORTS WILL BE APPLIED TO THE CREATION OF NEW INSTITUTIONAL FORMS WHICH WILL MAKE POSSIBLE POLITICAL RESTORATION WITH REPRESENTATIVE POLITICAL PARTIES DIRECTED TOWARDS THE NATIONAL WELFARE. THE COUNCIL OF STATE, ADDED THE PRESIDENT, COULD DEVELOP A CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM

TO OPEN THE WAY TO POLITICAL RESTORATION, DRAWING ON THE SAD EXPERIENCE OF PAST INSTITUTIONAL YDECWYNCE.#

HOWEVER, SAID BORDABERRY, SINCE THE MILITARY MUST, FOR A TIME SUPPORT THE STATE, HE WOULD CREATE AN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ADVISORY COUNCIL AND RECAST THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL (SEE BELOW).

6. TASKS ACCOMPLISHED: AMONG THE TASKS ACCOMPLISHED IN THE PAST YEAR, THE PRESIDENT LISTED, INTER ALIA, RESTORATION OF TRANQUILLITY, THE RELEASE OF LABOR FROM COMMUNIST TYRANNY, NORMAL SCHOOLING WITH FREE LEARNING AND INSTRUCTION, BOUNDARY TREATIES WITH ARGENTINA AND BRAZIL, SOLID MOVES IN THE SEARCH FOR PETROLEUM, A FUTURE-LOOKING ECONOMIC PROGRAM, INCREASING ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH ARGENTINA, BRAZIL AND THE EUROPEAN COMMON MARKET, A NEW FOREIGN INVESTMENT LAW, URUGUAYAN CONTRIBUTION TO STRENGTHEN AND REFORM THE OAS, LAFTA AND THE RIVER PLATE BASIN ORGANIZATION, A REDUCTION IN INFLATION, IMPROVED WAGE POLICIES, BETTER COURT PROCEDURES IN LABOR MATTERS, AND MAJOR HYDROELECTRIC PROJECTS.

7. ADMINISTRATIVE RESTUCTURING: THE PRESIDENT CONCLUDED BY OUTLINING STRUCTURAL CHANGES IN THE GOVERNMENT DESIGNED TO MODERNIZE ADMINISTRATION, ACHIEVE ECONOMIC GROWTH AND TO PROVIDE EXPERIENCE ON WHICH CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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MAY BE BASED. HE ANNOUNCED THE FOLLOWING STEPS, SOME TO TAKE EFFECT BY DECREE AND OTHERS TO BE SUBMITTED TO THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

8. THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL (COSENA) CONTINUES TO EXIST, BUT WITHOUT ITS ECONOMIC MEMBERS AND WITH A ROLE LIMITED MORE TO SECURITY MATTERS. A NEW ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ADVISORY COUNCIL IS ESTABLISHED AT THE SAME TOP LEVEL; IT WILL BE CHAIRED BY THE PRESIDENT AND WILL INCLUDE THE MIN OF ECONOMY AND FINANCE, THE DIRECTOR OF PLANNING AND BUDGET, THE MIN OF NATIONAL DEFENSE AND THE MILITARY COMMANDERS-IN-CHIEF.

9. THE MINISTRY OF TRANSPORTATION, COMMUNICATIONS AND TOURISM WILL BE DISSOLVED. ITS TRANSPORTATION FUNCTION WILL BE TRANSFERRED

TO THE MINISTRY OF PUBLIC WORKS, THE NAME OF WHICH CHANGES TO THE
MINISTRY OF TRANSPORTATION AND WORKS. THE COMMUNICATIONS FUNCTION
WILL BE TRANSFERRED TO THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE. THE TOURISM FUNCTION
GOES TO THE MINISTRY OF INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE, WHICH CHANGES ITS
NAME TO THE MINISTRY OF INDUSTRY AND ENERGY. THE COMMERCE FUNCTION
OF THE LAST NAMED MINISTRY IS TRANSFERRED TO THE MINISTRY OF ECONOMY
AND FINANCE. THE OFFICE OF PLANNING AND BUDGET WILL NO LONGER
FUNCTION WITHIN THE PRESIDENCY BUT WILL BECOME A PART
OF THE MINISTRY OF ECONOMY AND FINANCE AND WILL INCLUDE MILITARY
OFFICERS AMONG ITS TECHNICIANS. THE MINISTRY OF LIVESTOCK AND AGRICUL-

TURE CHANGES ITS NAME TO THE MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHING.
A NEW MINISTRY OF HOUSING AND SOCIAL WELFARE WILL BE CREATED.
OTHER MINISTRIES REMAIN UNCHANGED.

10. COMMENT: THE ADDRESS WAS A STANDARD BORDABERRY PERFORMANCE,
SINCERE, WELL-STRUCTURED AND LACKING IN CHARISMA. ALTHOUGH MUCH
OF THE SPEECH REFLECTED PREVIOUS PRESIDENTIAL UTTERANCES, THERE WERE

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ALSO INDICATIONS OF THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE'S CHANGING CONCEPT OF THIS STAGE OF URUGUAYAN DEVELOPMENT AND HIS ROLE IN IT. BORDABERRY ADMITTED PUBLICLY FOR THE FIRST TIME THAT THE BASE OF SUPPORT FOR THE GOVERNMENT WAS THE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT-- ALTHOUGH HE PROBABLY WAS CORRECT IN SAYING THAT THE NATION HAD ENTERED THE PRESENT STAGE WITH THE SUPPORT OF THE PUBLIC. HE DID NOT ADMIT THAT MUCH OF THE LOSS OF NON-MILITARY SUPPORT FOR HIS ADMINISTRATION WAS DUE TO CONTINUING ECONOMIC STAGNATION.

1. THE PRESIDENT'S DESCRIPTION OF THE ROLE OF THE MILITARY RECOGNIZED THE MILITARY'S FAIRLY RECENT (MVD 1658) ASSUMPTION OF A VIRTUAL CO-GOBIERNO POSITION. ON THE STRUCTURAL SIDE, THE POWER POSITION OF THE MILITARY WAS EVIDENCED ALSO BY THE NAMING OF THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE AND THE THREE SERVICE CHIEFS TO THE NEW ECONOMIC AND LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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SOCIAL COUNCIL AND THEIR RETENTION ON THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL. IN ESSENCE, HE FORMALLY INSTITUTIONALIZED THE POLICY-MAKING ROLE THE MILITARY ALREADY HAD ASSUMED. THUS, HE ELIMINATED THE GAP BETWEEN FICTION AND FACT. IF THE MILITARY CAN REMAIN UNITED TO GIVE THE CINCS CLEAR MARCHING ORDERS ACCEPTABLE TO THE PRESIDENT, THE NEW STRUCTURE COULD WELL BE AN IMPROVEMENT.

12. APART FROM RECOGNIZING AND FURTHER INSTITUTIONALIZING THE ROLE OF THE MILITARY, THE STRUCTURAL CHANGES ARE LAUDATORY IN ONE SENSE--THEY PLACE ECONOMIC DECISION-MAKING IN THE HANDS OF PEOPLE WHO CAN MAKE DECISIONS AND THEY CENTRALIZE THE GOV'S ECONOMIC OPERATIONS. THE MINISTRY OF TRANSPORTATION, COMMUNICATIONS AND TOURISM HAS LONG BEEN AN UNWIELDY THREE-LEGGED CREATURE. PLACING FISHERIES IN THE STRONG AGRICULTURE MINISTRY MAY BE A POSITIVE MOVE ALSO.

13. A GLARING FAULT IN THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE, HOWEVER MUCH THE STRUCTURAL CHANGES MAY BE IMPROVEMENTS, IS HIS FAILURE TO BRING ANY NEW FACES INTO THE GOVERNMENT. A SEARCH FOR CAPABLE, NEW MINISTERS HAS BEEN GOING ON FOR MONTHS, BUT WITHOUT APPARENT SUCCESS.
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